Feminist Economics

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

ISSN: 1354-5701 (Print) 1466-4372 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rfec20

"Our Lands are Our Lives": Gendered Experiences of Resistance to Land Grabbing in Rural Cambodia

Clara Mi Young Park

To cite this article: Clara Mi Young Park (2018): "Our Lands are Our Lives": Gendered Experiences of Resistance to Land Grabbing in Rural Cambodia, Feminist Economics, DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2018.1503417

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2018.1503417

© 2018 Food & Agricultural Organization. Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Published online: 04 Oct 2018.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 353

View Crossmark data

Citing articles: 1 View citing articles

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rfec20

Feminist Economics, 2019
https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2018.1503417

"Our Lands are Our Lives": Gendered Experiences of Resistance to Land Grabbing in Rural Cambodia

Clara Mi Young Park

ABSTRACT

Cambodia is known as a hotspot for land grabbing in Southeast Asia. Land dispossession due to elite capture, natural resources exploitation, and agribusiness development has catalyzed international attention following outbreaks of violence, mass protests, and retaliations. Agrarian economies, as well as social and gender relations and thus power dynamics at different levels, are being transformed and reshaped, facilitated by policies that promote capital penetration in rural areas and individualization of land access. Focusing on cases of rural dispossession and political resistance in Ratanakiri and Kampong Speu provinces, and drawing on reports, government documents, focus group discussions, and interviews, this study analyzes the gendered implications of land grabbing in contemporary Cambodia and argues that gender shapes and informs women's responses and politics, as well as the spaces in which these are played out.

KEYWORDS

Women, gender, land grabs, dispossession, mobilization, Cambodia

JEL Codes: Q00

INTRODUCTION

Land grabs in Southeast Asia, including in Cambodia, are producing important changes in terms of land, labor, property relations (Borras Jr. and Franco 2011), and the related political economy of agrarian transformations, including social relations; power dynamics; and local, national, and international politics (White et al. 2012). From 2011 onward, a number of studies from different perspectives and scholarly traditions have looked at the way in which gender discrimination and inequalities are reproduced through changes in agrarian structures of land and labor and

© 2018 Food & Agricultural Organization. Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

generate differentiated outcomes for different women and men in relation to large-scale land deals, corporate agriculture, agrofuel expansion, and development projects (Chu 2011; Daley 2011; Behrman, Meinzen-Dick, and Quisumbing 2012; Julia and White 2012; Doss, Summerfield, and Tsikata 2014; Lamb et al. 2017; Li 2017; Morgan 2017).

Nonetheless, research on land grabs has been generally faulted for lack of attention to gender, generation, and political reactions from below (Borras Jr. and Franco 2013; Hall et al. 2015). This is symptomatic of general and widespread neglect for analyzing the impacts of land grabs on different social groups (Doss, Summerfield, and Tsikata 2014) and the failure to recognize that such groups – along lines of class, gender, generation, ethnicity, and nationality – may have different expectations, aspirations, and traditions of struggle, which, in turn, reshape, limit, or make possible different kinds of land deals and responses (Hall et al. 2015). For instance, gender relations, generational power dynamics, and inequalities in access to land can affect the terms of inclusion in and exclusion from corporate agriculture (Harvey 2003), the intergenerational transfer of land rights or dispossession (Park and White 2017), and the resulting fights for incorporation and resistance (Behrman, Meinzen-Dick, and Quisumbing 2012; Daley and Park 2012; Julia and White 2012; Daley, Osorio, and Park 2013; Daley and Pallas 2014; Doss, Summerfield, and Tsikata 2014; Lamb et al. 2017; Morgan 2017).

In Cambodia, the surge in land grabs in recent years has been largely associated with increasing numbers of Economic Land Concessions (ELCs) – a mechanism that allows investors to lease state land for economic development[1] – and aggressive urban expansion, both of which are facilitated by the government agenda of economic growth and development. According to nongovernmental organization (NGO) estimates, ELCs granted to foreign and domestic companies were close to 2 million hectares in 2013 (Grimsditch and Schoenberger 2015). A moratorium on ELCs was declared in 2012, which, however, has failed to stop or completely roll back existing initiatives. In spite of a number of concessions that have been canceled or reduced, according to government sources, as of 2016, there are still 111 active contracts covering more than 1,030,672 hectares of land. Furthermore, definite numbers and areas are difficult to determine (Diepart 2016).

A number of studies have examined the gendered outcomes of land grabs in the context of Cambodia (Brickell 2014; Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights [LICADHO] 2014, 2015; McGinn 2015; Kusakabe 2015; Park and Maffii 2017; Lamb et al. 2017). These have focused on different aspects, including the economic trajectories created by urban dispossession (McGinn 2015), the gendered geopolitics of forced evictions (Brickell 2014), the implications of agrarian transformations on indigenous women (Park and Maffii 2017), and the

roles and practices of women in relation to men's and their complementary struggles to protest land grabbing (Lamb et al. 2017).

While feminist research has extensively documented women's land activism, this has often been ignored by authors writing on political reactions from below (Borras Jr. and Franco 2013) and environmental collective action (Agarwal 2015). James C. Scott's (1985) important work on everyday forms of resistance has been criticized for its "androcentric focus" and lack of attention to gender. The resulting analysis – critics posit (Hart 1991) – misses out on "the ways in which politics construct gender and gender constructs politics" (Scott 1988: 25), and it fails to "ask how gender might interact with class (or other forms of social hierarchy) both to structure that hierarchy in specific ways, and to determine the forms that resistance to it might take" (Agarwal 1994: 421). According to Agarwal, women's struggles are about class oppression but also the related forms of gender discrimination; this is why looking only at overt acts of resistance does not tell the full story. In addition, women's resistance is different from men's because of the different forms of oppression from which they suffer and the weapons they have (Agarwal 1994). Regardless of class and social differences, women can find commonality of interests when it comes to protecting their natural resources against external factors, as documented for instance in West Kalimantan in Indonesia, where the women taking part in protests against the establishment of an oil palm plantation were found to be very diverse in terms of age, marital status, education, income, and land size (Morgan 2017).

Women's and men's interests are also not fixed but are shaped by gender roles and relations and by political struggles (Hart 1991). The research from Indonesia mentioned above, for instance, highlighted that while gender relations affected women's decisions to participate in protests, these were also shaped by women's engagement in protests, which to an extent also became sites of gender struggles and renegotiation of gender roles (Morgan 2017). Identities and positioning can also be played out strategically, depending on the circumstances. In land struggles in Indonesia and Cambodia, including in the cases analyzed for this study, women used their identity as mothers and wives to position themselves as harmless vis-à-vis state authorities during confrontations with the police and the military (Brickell 2014; Lamb et al. 2017; Morgan 2017).

Gender roles, identity, and positioning can also circumscribe the space in which women and men can exercise their agency in everyday life (Resurrección 2006). As confirmed by research across the globe, women's participation in mobilization does not necessarily translate into an automatic improvement of their rights or ability to advance them through collective action. In spite of women's key roles in land occupations in Brazil, for instance, formal gender equality within the social movements did not translate into an increased number of women beneficiaries of the

agrarian reform or leaders (Deere 2003). According to Agarwal (2015), for this to happen women need to shift from "women-in-themselves" to "women-for-themselves," that is, "from individual to a group articulation of their interests." This critically depends "on whether women can overcome the structural constraints they face, and what outside support they have to facilitate this" (Agarwal 2015: 4).[2] This point is confirmed by an ample body of research from Latin America, where across the subcontinent, the rise of the national and international feminist and women's movements, together with the emergence of national gender machineries and women's NGOs, the rise of rural unions and liberation theology groups created conditions favorable to the organization of rural women in the 1980s and 1990s (Stephen 1997; Deere and León 2001; Deere 2003; Rubin and Sokoloff-Rubin 2013). It is also noteworthy that, in many instances, women eventually decided to spin out of the movement that they had helped to create and to establish their own (Valle 2009).

Although not to the extent of mobilizing for their own rights, there is a transformational power that comes with women's engagement in mobilization. Elizabeth Daley and Sabine Pallas (2014) found that women's active participation and leadership role in mobilization against the Polepally Special Economic Zone in Andhra Pradesh, India contributed to their empowerment along the way: women "found their voice in the process, thereby becoming empowered to engage politically through adversity" (191). Agarwal (2015) also noted that even the mere participation of women in community forestry groups increased their self-esteem and standing in the communities in addition to having positive impacts on their efficiency. This process of empowerment – defined by Naila Kabeer (1999) as the process of change through which those who have been denied the capacity to exercise choice gain this capacity – entails a reshaping of gender and power relations, which may have harsh consequences on women. Studies from Cambodia highlight that women land activists often suffer from impacts such as domestic violence and family breakdown, confirming the entrenched nature of gender relations, power structures, and resistance, whereby sites of domination also become potential sites of resistance (Collins 2000; Brickell 2014; LICADHO 2014).

Building on the research above, this study explores land grabbing, rural dispossession, and political responses from below, focusing on cases from Ratanakiri and Kampong Speu. I adopt a feminist political ecology framework to show that gender informs and shapes "agency, knowledge and politics related to environment" (Wichterich 2015: 69; see also Agarwal [1995, 1997], Rocheleau [2015]). Starting from cases of women's activism, I look at the conditions under which women engaged in political disputes over land and use the concept of "empowerment along the way" to explore how such activism affected their personal "process of change."

The study is based on a review of existing literature, reports and government documents, and stakeholder interviews. I draw key insights from six in-depth individual interviews with women.[3] I also conducted two focus group discussions, one held in Andong Meas District in Ratanakiri and one held in Thporng district in Kampong Speu between March and April 2014. I collected additional information during two shorter visits in November 2014. The field visits were facilitated by local NGO staff.[4] The fieldwork also included individual interviews with the community leader of the village in Ratanakiri, the local indigenous facilitator, and NGO staff and notes from participant observation during two community meetings. I conducted the interviews with the assistance of a Khmer woman interpreter, as well as an indigenous woman facilitator in Ratanakiri.[5] Although the focus of this study is on rural dispossession, the analysis also benefited from interviews I conducted with two women land activists in Phnom Penh. The names of the people interviewed and of the villages are left out to protect their identities.

LAND REFORM AND ELCS

With the end of the Cold War in 1989 and the embracement of an open market economy, a series of policies paved the way to the adoption of Cambodia's 2001 Land Law, which extended private property rights – abolished by the Khmer Rouge and reintroduced for residential land with the 1992 Land Law – to agricultural land. This was a time, following the affirmation of the Washington Consensus, when blanket programs of privatization where high on the agendas of donors and governments (Hughes 2003; Springer 2010). In Cambodia, too, the land reform agenda had a strong focus on the formalization of property, promoted through donor-driven programs and government campaigns.[6] In what it defined a "historic land reform program," by 2013, the government stated it had distributed more than three million land titles (Royal Government of Cambodia 2013), covering around 50 percent of all land parcels in the country, and was moving resolutely toward the goal of achieving 100 percent coverage by 2023 (Lim 2014).

The 2001 Land Law, which defines tenure rights in the country, recognizes private ownership rights for residential and agricultural land and the right of indigenous communities to collective ownership of land.[7] The law also authorizes the granting of land concessions on state private land for social and economic purposes.[8] In practice, however, the leasing of state private land had been ongoing since 1995, prior to the promulgation of the 2001 Land Law and of Sub-Decree No. 146 on ELCs in 2005 (Saing et al. 2012). Sub-Decree No. 146 regulates the procedures for the granting and management of concessions, including requirements to conduct public consultations and environmental and social impact assessments.[9] However,

these aspects, along with those related to small farmers and indigenous peoples' security of tenure and access to dispute resolution mechanisms, have been problematic to implement and monitor.[10] ELCs have been awarded in areas where people had legitimate tenure rights, and land titles have been largely issued in areas not affected by or earmarked for ELCs (Dwyer 2015). Local political elites, business tycoons, and local patrons, as well as foreign actors, have been able to co-opt to their advantage the opportunities arising in this context (Springer 2010, 2011; Beban and Work 2014), shaping property and labor regimes and creating "new legal and practical instruments for possessing, expropriating, or challenging previous land controls" (Peluso and Lund 2011: 668) and accumulating capital, including Order 01 described below.

Land tenure insecurity and repeated violations of people's land rights have materialized both in rural and urban contexts (Grimsditch and Henderson 2009; LICADHO 2012), and resistance has manifested itself through the full range of expressions, from "everyday forms of resistance" (Scott 1985, 1986) to organized protests and riots in Phnom Penh, with the active participation of women.[11] According to NGO estimates, over 420,000 people have been affected by land grabs and evictions since 2003 (LICADHO 2012), and 10,625 have been registered in 2014 alone (LICADHO 2014). Illustrative urban evictions include the infamous cases of Borei Keila and Boeung Kak Lake,[12] both of which have been analyzed from a gender perspective (Brickell 2014; McGinn 2015).

Following mounting protests and criticism by civil society organizations and development partners, in May 2012, the government declared a moratorium on ELCs (Beban and Work 2014; Milne 2013; Schoenberger 2015).[13] A few months later and before commune elections, it also issued Directive 01BB, also known as Order 01, on the Measures Reinforcing and Increasing the Efficiency of the Management of Economic Land Concessions (LICADHO 2014). Under the order, the Prime Minister launched a yearlong land registration and titling campaign supposedly with the aim of improving people's land tenure security and resolving conflicts between communities and companies. Between June 2012 and December 2014, approximately 610,000 individual titles (550,000 according to official data from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction) were issued at no cost (Schoenberger 2015), including in indigenous areas that had been already earmarked for communal titling. While focusing on areas with less secure tenure and where ELCs had been awarded, the program however avoided areas where conflicts were ongoing,[14] crystallizing on the ground the material effects of the so-called "leopard skin policy" (Milne 2013). By allocating titles, including to indigenous land and state land that was occupied and could thus be demarcated away from ELCs (Milne 2013), the order has contributed to creating simplified tenure systems outside of ELCs areas that facilitate

the exercise of state's control over space (Scott 1998) – space that is reshaped in the form of "landscapes of control and appropriation" (Scott 2012: 33).

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S ACCESS TO LAND

The government has integrated gender equality discourse and practice in policymaking, including in the agricultural sector. Cambodia has committed to international human rights and gender equality instruments, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both ratified in 1992. Under the 1993 Constitution, women and men enjoy equal rights, including rights to property,[15] and Article 45 explicitly mandates the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. Under the 1989 Law on Marriage and the Family, spouses have equal rights to property acquired during marriage and to individually own property possessed prior to marriage or received as a gift or inheritance. Joint property may not be disposed of without the consent of both spouses.[16] The 2011 Civil Code further strengthened the legal framework for gender equality in relation to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and immovable property.

In practice, however, engrained in the pronouncements of the *Chbab Srey*, the traditional code for women, patriarchy is still deeply rooted in society.[17] The code was introduced in the educational system to represent "traditional" values and gender roles and used as a form of resistance to French influence under Norodom Sihanouk, whose reign (1955–70) is regarded as the golden age of the country's history (Chandler 2007). The nationalist movement in the early 1950s picked up the norms. Contrary to many nationalist movements worldwide that advocated for women's emancipation and liberation, the Cambodian nationalist movement kept women's empowerment within the limits imposed by the *Chbab Srey*, in spite of using ideas of solidarity and equality to attract young women and men (Jacobsen 2008). Although it was eliminated from school curricula in 2007, the code continues to exert a strong influence on people's behavior (Ministry of Women's Affairs [MOWA] 2014). Women's failure to abide by the *Chbab Srey* can result in social sanctions and exclusion. According to the code, women should respect their husbands, be frugal, speak softly, and be morally impeccable, particularly from a sexual point of view (Kent 2011). At the same time, men are expected to be tough and exert power as well as discipline, including through violence, if needed (Lilja 2008, 2012). Consequently, discrimination and violence against women are tolerated, if not condoned (MOWA 2014).

Rapid economic growth is creating new opportunities for women's emancipation especially in urban areas, expedited by migration of young

women from rural areas and use of social media (MOWA 2014; USAID 2010).[18] Yet, progress in terms of the overall improvement of women's condition is still slow (MOWA 2014). According to the Gender Inequality Index (GII), which measures inequality in achievement between women and men in reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market, Cambodia ranks 112 out of 188 countries in 2015 (United Nations Development Programme n.d.). Women are still underrepresented in politics, where parties constitute a conservative "bloc of patriarchal resistance to great gender equality" (Sedara and Öjendal with Nareth 2014: 1). As Lilja highlights, "the exclusion of women from the political spaces" is rooted in the "separation of women and men into two, mostly stereotyped, binary categories; a classification providing the basis for the hierarchization of the two sexes" (2008: 1).

Gender inequalities in access to and control over land are also widespread. Women represent 51 percent of the agricultural labor force (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO] 2015), but they account for only 27 percent of all agricultural holders, that is, those who make main decisions over land use and management (National Institute of Statistics [NIS] 2014).[19] An enhanced focus on joint titling under the land reform has boosted the numbers of women co-owners of land. According to the data of the Land Register database, as of September 2013, 63 percent of the titles distributed through the systematic land-titling program were registered in the name of both spouses and 18 percent in those of wives only (Yniesta 2014a). Assessments of the systematic land-titling program report that the majority of women respondents (96 percent) appreciate land titles as a safeguard against family crises, such as death of a spouse or divorce (Yniesta 2014b). However, according to other research, women are also concerned that legal rights may not translate into their ability to exercise their rights in case of disputes (Mehrvar, Sore, and Sambath 2008). This confirms the existing divide between women's legal ownership of and de facto agency over land and cautions against titling campaigns that use women's land rights as distractions from other agendas (Monsalve Suárez 2006; O'Laughlin 2009), such as the promotion of property rights as a blanket solution for tenure insecurity. This focus on the "formalization fix" (Dwyer 2015) is particularly tricky in Cambodia where, as seen above, land titling has de facto tended to focus on unproblematic areas, while unmapped state land was being formalized through concessions (Milne 2013; Dwyer 2015; Work and Beban 2016).

GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF DISPOSSESSION AND RESISTANCE

The cases analyzed for this study include dispossessions and land grabs driven by the establishment of a sugar plantation in Kampong Speu and

by the compounded effect of the expansion of rubber plantations and the titling exercise carried out under Order 01 in Ratanakiri province.[20]

Kampong Speu, located west of Phnom Penh, is one of the provinces targeted by large-scale ELC expansion, particularly of sugar. Between 1995 and 2009, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery (MAFF) granted eleven ELCs in the province covering an area of 109,981 hectares (Saing et al. 2012). In 2010, the government conceded 9,000 and 9,050 hectares of land, respectively, to Phnom Penh Sugar Co. Ltd. and adjacent Kampong Speu Sugar Co. Ltd., registered in the name of a well-known politician and his wife. According to a NGO-led assessment, more than 1,000 families were affected by the concession, which engulfed areas where people had been living for more than five generations and had papers proving their legal possession issued in the 1980s and early 1990s (Equitable Cambodia and Inclusive Development International 2013). The people I interviewed were from two households that had been relocated and partially "compensated" and two households that were still negotiating the terms of relocation and/or compensation with the company. Families lost land and, when compensated, they received land that was much smaller, of worse quality, and far away from the village. Most people, especially women and children, had to resort to work on the plantation as casual and seasonal workers or on other people's farms to complement the family's need for food and income. In spite of the poor conditions and lack of security, they found work on the plantation as the only viable option. Women perceived their burden as having increased because plantation work had come in addition to farming. Children whose families were relocated far away from the village could no longer go to school.

Ratanakiri, located in the northeast of the country, has been targeted mainly for rubber by ELCs. As of 2012, eighteen out of twenty-two ELCs in the province focused on rubber as the main or sole investment crop (Human Rights Council 2012). The village I visited, inhabited by the Kachat indigenous minority, had been affected by the establishment of a rubber plantation run by a Vietnamese company. The villagers said they suffered from loss of access to farmland, water, and forests for food, hunting, and fishing, as well as for spiritual rites and graveyards. While the company tried to negotiate a monetary compensation for their lands with the villagers, the villagers rejected the offer, which they felt was inadequate to make up for the loss of land and the long-term benefits of farming for them and the next generations. According to my local indigenous facilitator, since problems with ELCs started, the community leader was threatened at various times by the local authorities and the villagers' cattle were killed. "Killing cattle means threatening lives. Today they kill the animals; tomorrow they may kill the villagers. That's how the villagers feel toward this act."[21] The village had also been targeted by the titling campaign under Order 01. According to the community leader, all but ten of the 189 households in the village

had their farming land (not the one for shifting cultivation) demarcated by the volunteers recruited for the campaign and received land titles; joint titles were issued to husbands and wives. The ten families who did not have a title had either refuted the process or their land was far away from the village and did not get measured "because it was too hard for the students to travel back and forth."[22] Families received titles for different amounts of land, one to two hectares on average, depending on how much land they were cultivating at the time, not including forestland or land that was fallow under the rotational system of shifting cultivation. The process was quick: one day to measure the land, one day to process the applications, and two weeks to get the provisional copy of the land title. Approximately, two or three months later, they all received the original certificate of title.

RESISTANCE AND MOBILIZATION

Land grabbing is so painful that we are not afraid to die. Our lands are our lives. We are not afraid to risk our lives to get the land back.[23]

People's overall perception of security of tenure was very low both in Kampong Speu and Ratanakiri. In Kampong Speu, where most of the people interviewed did not have a land certificate, one woman highlighted that they had legal grounds to contest the dispossession since they had been living continuously on their land for more than five years prior to the promulgation of the Land Law in 2001 and were thus entitled to legal ownership.[24] However, in practice, there was nothing that they could do to avoid the aggressive expansion of the company. Not only were they not able to stop the grabbing of their farmland, but they also felt insecure about the land received as compensation. When asked if she had a title, one woman elaborated on her strategy to counter insecurity:

> No, none of the families here has such a document on the old land. Before we received the compensation land, the company issued a recognition paper with information on the location and size of the land. After we received the new land, we had to give that paper back to the company. But I made a color photocopy of it and gave that to the company while I kept the original paper for myself as evidence, just in case there is any future problem.[25]

In Ratanakiri, perception of insecurity went beyond individuals' and households' access to land for farming and shifting cultivation. Indigenous communities had always had access to communal land and forests, which not only provide them with various vegetables, animal proteins, medicinal herbs, and construction materials, but are central to their spiritual practices and identity (Park and Maffii 2017). This has become increasingly difficult with the introduction of large-scale rubber plantations and the clearing of

forestland – a process that has been consolidated and sanctioned during the titling exercise. According to the village leader, there were some disputes with the student volunteers who came to measure land. They told him that the government would keep 10 percent of the land for the community, but to that date there had been no follow-up. In addition, he elaborated that not having access to forests "destroys their identity."[26]

Both in Kampong Speu and Ratanakiri, women had been actively engaging in protests and different forms of resistance, including riots, roadblocks, trespassing, and damaging company property. Several interviewees confirmed what other research has indicated: when confronted with threats to their livelihood and their natural resource base, women felt they had to join the fight, as vividly recounted in the quote at the beginning of this section by a young woman in Ratanakiri.

Women's engagement was strategic. When asked about their reasons for joining the protests, women interviewed in Kampong Speu, Ratanakiri, and Phnom Penh repeatedly affirmed that it was a strategy to keep the level of confrontation with the police or military down and avoid a situation where the men would get beaten or jailed. This suggests a strategic use of women's positions. In the early days of the Soviet regime, during women-led protests against forced collectivization, peasant women used common perceptions about their behavior as backward and hysterical to their advantage. Women's protests were tolerated more than similar protests by men, and women were treated less harshly when criminal charges were pressed (Viola 1986). Documenting a case of eviction in Kratie province, Lamb et al. also note that:

> [W]hen responding to eviction, families wanted to avoid any possible violent retaliation. The men fled or "were asked to flee for their safety by their wives" while the women felt that they could stay and observe what their evictors did, without eliciting violent reaction. (2017: 9)

In the eviction from Boeung Kak Lake, women further explained their activism as an "extension and elevation of their traditional responsibilities as wives and mothers to ensure family harmony and stability" (Brickell 2014: 2). In other words, women not only used their position and identity strategically but were also influenced in their decisions by their roles as mothers and wives. As a Borei Keila activist explained, recalling an episode where the authorities arrested eight men: "Being women and wives, we were worried about our husbands' security. The women started to stand up instead, as we believed that the local authority would not be as cruel as they were to the men."[27] This, however, proved not to be true, as women were beaten and arrested during those urban protests together with men.

There were signs that engagement in protests had resulted in increased levels of confidence. Two of the women I interviewed identified themselves

as land activists. One of them, a woman in her early 50s, emphasized that she is a land activist and works with different NGOs. In 2010, the company and the village chief called a meeting about the company's investment plans in the area; they did not mention that their lands would be affected. The villagers did not agree to the investment as they had heard about the company's land grabs in Koh Kong Province. However, one day later the company tractors, fifteen to twenty of them, accompanied by the local military started to clear their farmland without any notification. The villagers tried to stop the tractor drivers and asked the local authorities – the district head and village chief – to stop the company activities. At the end of the same day, one of the company's tractors was burnt down during the negotiations over the compensation of 100 USD/hectare. They were told that if the families did not accept the offer, they would receive nothing. Her family used to own approximately 20 hectares of land but was compensated with only 3.2 hectares of land, while they received nothing for the remaining 17 hectares. Before giving them the new land, the company issued the "recognition paper" mentioned above. The woman asked to have her name undisclosed because she was involved, along with other people, in protests to stop the company activities, including road blocking around the plantation, and was in the news. As a result, she was accused of destroying the company's property, although she claimed her innocence, and was being monitored by the authorities.

Covert forms of organized resistance were also detected during the interview, as she explained:

> In addition to me, there are two to three women representatives from my village. We have to secretly call meetings that usually take place at night, so that the commune leader or village chief does not know about them. I do not use the phone to invite people because I do not have enough money for the phone calls. Plus the direct invite for the meeting is more effective because I can give detailed explanations and concrete information to each family.[28]

This activist vividly described her role and tasks and the pride she takes in getting people's attention and support, including from men, in spite of the hardship of having to walk long distances and juggling multiple responsibilities. This signals a breakthrough in traditional gender roles and hierarchies that expect women to be subservient and quiet.

> Talking to men is not a problem because all family members are involved and interested in getting the land back. Sometimes the husbands have to work outside and are not there, but ask their wives to receive the information from me. But when they have to advocate in court, both husbands and wives join. People listen to me because

> they trust me. Also I am confident and brave enough to talk with high ranking officers, *Oknha*,[29] as well as the district chief. Thanks to the training I received, I have gained more knowledge on human rights, the land concession law, and policy. Before going out for any activity, however, I have to consult with the NGOs.

This quote points to the role of NGOs as key enablers but also potentially bottlenecks for women's advancement if attention is not paid to their meaningful participation in the different initiatives that target communities. In both locations, communities referred to at least three to four different local NGOs that were active in the area conducting trainings, advocacy sessions, and providing legal support for the filing of complaints. In addition, in Kampong Speu, several international NGOs have had campaigns and programs to support the communities affected by the expansion of sugar plantations, partly in response to the clamor created by these very companies supplying sugar to the European market under the European Union's Everything but Arms preferential trade pact.[30] Although I could not get exact numbers, many people mentioned having participated in different NGOs' trainings. However, no trainings specifically targeted at women or focusing on women's rights were mentioned. Still, as seen, several of the women interviewed said they appreciated the opportunity to learn about land issues and government policies, as well as the confidence that has come with it.

Although this point cannot be elaborated at length in this study, other research has noted that NGOs and, particularly, international NGOs, with a superficial understanding of how gender roles and relations sit in the context of broader dynamics of power and capitalist relations, can work against an emancipatory agenda for women, reinforcing existing inequalities and further relegating women into the reproductive realm (Frewer 2017; Park and Maffii 2017).

Women are also acknowledged as having superior negotiating skills, and their work in conflict situations is highly valued. "When we need to solve a problem, always it is the women who negotiate. The men only know how to argue, but the women, we can find a solution."[31] Women interviewed in Kampong Speu and Phnom Penh stated that by way of participating in mobilization and resistance they "learned a lot" and could engage in the politics of land grabbing as activists, community leaders, and "official protesters," as the police labels women land activists in Phnom Penh.[32] In addition, thanks to easier mobility and access to and use of information, the women in Phnom Penh had organized themselves in a group with a governing mechanism and clear roles and tasks. One of them explained:[33]

> At first, there were 117 women, representing 117 families. Now there are 156 women in our group. What we all believe in is strong solidarity

> within the group. The common fight against the company has made the women in my community become stronger and more confident in engaging with advocacy and fight for justice. Besides this, our work also includes filing legal complaints to court, ministries, embassies, and NGOs . . . The group has seven representatives, whose roles are also to be the main decision makers. I am one of them and have to prepare the plans with the other representatives. After reaching agreement among us, we call the rest of the group for the final meeting and inform them about the plan. I have to prepare a clear plan, prepare the documents, and invite the members to join the meeting to inform them about the route of their protesting parade, which street they should walk, etc.

There were also signs that solidarity across social and rural/urban divides was materializing, though not specifically along gender lines, as this woman said her group was reaching out to communities in rural areas to support them.

Some women in Ratanakiri reported they had stopped participating mainly due to the disappointment caused by lack of response from the government.[34]

> When the company arrived in 2011, everyone (pregnant women, children, and teenagers) participated in the meetings and protests. Women and pregnant women were standing on the frontlines during the protests. But now we feel discouraged because there are no actions from the government.

The village above, inhabited by the Kachat indigenous group, has been seriously affected by the expansion of a rubber plantation, which has encroached over their territory and restricted free access to forests not only for daily food, but also for spiritual rites and burial land. The villagers had thus started mobilizing through protests and acts of resistance, such as burning the company's trees and trucks. As a result, they were called for a meeting by the village head who signed an agreement with the company stating that in case of destruction of company property, the villagers may be taken to court and have to pay compensation. This is because the village head, who is a political appointee, is part of the government party and favors the company, according to the community leader. "If the villagers destroy the rubber tree, the villagers have to pay compensation of 200 USD to 300 USD per rubber tree. We fear that the land issue has become life threatening for our village," explained one young woman. In this village, the effects of the implementation of Order 01 together with the expansion of the company surfaced in the form of increasing numbers of disputes and sales of land.

> It brings bad relations, among people, and villages. After the company came, some families did not have good relations with one another. Some siblings did not want to share the land with those whose land was lost to the land concession. There are also cross-village arguments on the land due to the unclear borders, specifically on whose lands were lost to the concession.[35]

While more in-depth investigations into intrahousehold dynamics would be needed to better understand women's resistance in terms of the social construction of gender roles, the interviews did point to tensions as well as enablers of women's sustained engagement, including peer pressure:

> When I started working on the land issue, my husband hesitated to support me. However, after my arrest, thousands of villagers showed their support, so my husband changed his mind. I discuss my decisions with my husband.[36]

Field observations also point to the material difficulties that women activists face in sustaining their engagement on the ground, even when they are strongly motivated and interested. As one researcher highlighted to me, talking about women involved in community forest patrolling, it is hard for women to do research.[37] The days are long and grueling and they still have to prepare all the food for the research teams and their families, making it difficult for them to record the data collected.

In the Philippines, among activists with the communist guerrilla movement (Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army; CPP-NPA), both men and women complained about their activist spouses as the engagement with the movement became more time consuming (Rutten 2000). Further investigations would require looking at the encounter between dominant ideas about women's roles and their engagement in the politics of dispossession, which comes with less time for domestic obligations and increased voice and assertiveness of women, thus calling for a renegotiation of roles. As Brickell (2014) has documented in relation to the Boeung Kak Lake case, there were signs of "marital strain or breakdown" but also cases of men taking on a share of household responsibilities and being generally more flexible.

Finally, in the cases analyzed for this study, in spite of a process of "empowerment along the way" having been triggered, there were no visible signs of a shift to "women-for-themselves." As other research also highlights, women's participation in protests failed to translate into increased voice and decision-making power (Lamb et al. 2017). Women's rights were not part of the agenda of the many NGOs that were working with these communities or, for that matter, even of those women who defined

themselves as activists. The women were more concerned about the future of their communities and the possibility for future generations to continue farming, as women in Ratanakiri highlighted, "If our lands are continuously lost, then there is not hope for the future generation. There are possibilities that the future generation may go from being farmers to migrating for labor to other areas."[38] This sentiment was echoed by the urban activist who said, "All I can see is to do something for the future of my kids. I want to support other Cambodians protest who suffer from the same issues."[39]

CONCLUSIONS

This study explored women's participation in land activism in two cases of rural dispossession and land grabbing. Urban land activists were also interviewed to look at a full spectrum of experiences of women's mobilization and agency.

Women reported having engaged in overt and covert forms of resistance, initially as a strategy to curtail police and military reactions. In the process, this led to some of them taking on leadership roles within their communities and increased self-confidence and esteem, seemingly triggering an initial process of "empowerment along the way." However, women activists' lives are not easy, having to renegotiate their roles within households and communities. In contrast to other research, extreme cases of confrontation among spouses were not reported, though tensions surfaced as women had to win their husbands' consent and support. In this respect, the pressure exerted by public recognition and appreciation of women's roles by others in the community helped to open the space for negotiation.

The cases analyzed in this study seem to indicate that the enabling factors that Agarwal (2015) refers to may have not fully materialized, in particular, as none of the NGOs active in the areas visited have embraced the agenda and discourse of women's rights as part of their mobilization campaigns. Lastly and importantly, the cases also point to the fact that women's agency – even when stretching the boundaries of existing gender roles, for instance as women take on land activism as their primary occupation – is still largely confined within the boundaries of a patriarchal system of gender roles and relations that constructs them primarily as wives, mothers, and stewards of family unity and safety.

Clara Mi Young Park
International Institute of Social Studies - Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
Kortenaerkade 12, The Hague 2518 AX, Netherlands
e-mail: clarampark@gmail.com

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR

Clara Mi Young Park is a PhD candidate with the Political Ecology Research Group at the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, and Gender Rural and Social Development Officer with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. She has written on gender and land, land grabs, and food sovereignty.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the women and men who agreed to share their experiences with me so that I could report on them. Support from brave colleagues from several local organizations and from research assistants was also key to making this possible. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers who provided support and excellent comments that helped me sharpen the paper. Part of the research for this article was made possible thanks to funding from the BRICS Initiative for Critical Agrarian Studies.

NOTES

[1] Regulated under the 2005 Sub-Decree No. 146 on Economic Land Concessions, ELCs can be granted on state private land for either social or economic purposes, including tree plantations and agribusinesses (Human Rights Council 2012).

[2] While resonating with the Marxist formulation of "class in itself" and "class for itself," Bina Agarwal's (2015) concept differs in a fundamental way, since women do not suffer from false consciousness as evidenced by the different ways in which they resist gender inequalities.

[3] I conducted two interviews in Phnom Penh, one in Ratanakiri, and three in Kampong Speu.

[4] The NGO staff members were from Equitable Cambodia and Analyzing Development Issues Center Cambodia.

[5] Almost all people in Ratanakiri could understand Khmer, but many could only speak the local language.

[6] One of the main programs was the multi-donor Land Management and Administration Project (LMAP) initiated in 2002 as the first phase of the Land Management, Administration, and Distribution Program. LMAP was suspended following a request filed by residents of Boeung Kak Lake, who were excluded from the land adjudication process and faced forced eviction. The World Bank Inspection Panel found that a number of World Bank safeguard policies had been breached, leading to the arbitrary exclusion of lands from the titling process of the residents, especially the poor and vulnerable (Bugalski 2012).

[7] Article 1 of the Land Law of Cambodia, NS/RKM/0801/14, August 30, 2001.

[8] Land concessions for economic purposes include tree plantations and agro-industrial production of food crops. Investors who are granted land in the form of ELCs have exclusive rights to manage and harvest the land in exchange for investments, fees, and land rental. ELC areas are limited by law to a maximum area of 10,000 hectares per person for up to 99 years. The granting of land concessions on multiple areas in favor of legal entities controlled by the same person is prohibited (Human Rights Council 2012).

[9] Article 4 of Sub-Decree No. 148 specifies that ELCs may be granted if (1) environmental and social impact assessments have been completed with respect to the land use and development plan (Article 4.3) and (2) there have been public consultations with local authorities and residents (Article 4.5).

[10] Article 23 of the Land Law recognizes indigenous communities' right to continue to manage and use the land according to their customs; Article 26 ratifies their right to collective ownership of land. Sub-Decree No. 83 on the Procedures of Registration of Land of Indigenous Communities, issued in 2009, sets out the procedure for indigenous land titling and registration. In order to be eligible for the collective land title, communities have to register as legal entities with the Ministry of Interior (Cambodian Center for Human Rights [CCHR] 2013). Indigenous community land comprises of residential land, cultivated land, reserve land for shifting cultivation, spiritual forestland, and burial ground forestland. Residential land and cultivated land may only be state private land, while the other three categories may include state public land.

[11] Boeung Kak Lake is a well-known case where women activists have been highly visible, including Yorm Bopha, arrested during a protest on accusations of planning an assault on two men and released on bail after over a year in prison (L.H. 2012; Amnesty International 2013).

[12] In Phnom Penh, in January 2012, 300 families were forcibly evicted from Borei Keila to make room for a residential development project by Phanimex company (ADHOC Cambodia 2012; *The Diplomat 2012*; Odom 2014).

[13] Since the moratorium, the government canceled or reduced the area of seventy-one ELCs, covering a total land area of 656,380 hectares as of January 21, 2015 (Oldenburg and Neef 2014; Grimsditch and Schoenberger 2015).

[14] In response to an increasing number of complaints filed on the grounds of misinformation, the government set up procedures for members of indigenous communities to revert back to communal tenure (Sovanna 2014).

[15] Article 44 of the Constitution protects the legal right to property and mandates that expropriation be enforced only on the grounds of public interest and if prior, appropriate, and fair compensation is granted.

[16] Articles 32–34, 37 of the Law on Marriage (1989).

[17] The code is a rhyming poem instructing women on how to behave. While referred to as an ancient tradition, the code is a relatively recent creation and goes back to King Ang Duong, who ruled from 1848 to 1860. It was revamped in the early twentieth century as an example of literature from the golden age of Cambodian history (Evans 2006).

[18] Cambodia's annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth was 6 percent in 2010, and it has been over 7 percent since 2011. Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line (percentage of population) has decreased from 45 percent in 2007 to 20.5 percent in 2011 (World Bank n.d.).

[19] The Agricultural Census defines agricultural holder as "the person that makes the major decision regarding resource use; exercises management control over the agricultural holding operation; has technical and economic responsibility for the holding; and may undertake all responsibilities directly or delegate day-to-day responsibilities to a hired manager" (NIS 2014: 2).

[20] This section is based on fieldwork conducted in March–April 2014 and on a paper produced under the BRICS Initiative for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS) research grant. Parts of the findings have also informed another co-authored article (Park and Maffii 2017) published in the *The Journal of Peasant Studies*.

[21] Interview on March 17, 2014 with the indigenous woman who was the local interpreter for my interviews. She was also working with a rights-based NGO.

[22] Personal comment by the community leader, village in Andong Meas district, Ratanakiri, March 17, 2014.
[23] Focus group discussion held in village in Andong Meas district, Ratanakiri, March 18, 2014. Also cited in Clara Mi Young Park and Margherita Maffi (2017).
[24] Article 30 of the 2001 Land Law states that: "Any person who, for no less than five years prior to the promulgation of this law, enjoyed peaceful, uncontested possession of immovable property that can lawfully be privately possessed, has the right to request a definitive title of ownership."
[25] Interview held in Orm Leang Commune, Phlorng District, Kampong Speu, April 2, 2014.
[26] Interview with village leader held in Andong Meas District, Ratanakiri Province, March 17, 2014.
[27] Interview held in Phnom Penh, March 27, 2014.
[28] Interview held in Orm Leang Commune, Phlorng District, Kampong Speu, April 2, 2014.
[29] *Oknha* is an honorific title bestowed upon business people who make substantial financial contributions to national development projects.
[30] These international NGOs include Oxfam International, ActionAid, and FIAN International. See, for instance, Equitable Cambodia and Inclusive Development International (2013).
[31] This observation was made by the research teams in Kampong Chhnang and Preah Vihear under the Mosaic project during a focus group discussion, Preah Vihear, July 4–6, 2015.
[32] Interview held in Phnom Penh, March 27, 2014.
[33] Interview held in Phnom Penh, March 27, 2014.
[34] Interviews held in Andong Meas District, Ratanakiri Province, March 17–18, 2014.
[35] Interview with village leader held in Andong Meas District, Ratanakiri Province, March 17, 2014.
[36] Interview held in Orm Leang Commune, Phlorng District, Kampong Speu, April 2, 2014.
[37] Personal communication with Courtney Work, Kampong Chhnang, 2015.
[38] Interview held in Andong Meas District, Ratanakiri Province, March 18, 2014. Also cited in Park and Maffi (2017).
[39] Interview held in Phnom Penh, March 27, 2014.

REFERENCES

ADHOC Cambodia. 2012. "Residents at Borei Keila in Phnom Penh Forcibly Evicted." *ADHOC Cambodia*, January 3. http://www.adhoc-cambodia.org/?p=1136.

Agarwal, Bina. 1994. "Gender, Resistance and Land: Interlinked Struggles over Resources and Meanings in South Asia." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 22(1): 81–125.

________. 1995. *A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

________. 1997. "'Bargaining' and Gender Relations: Within and Beyond Household." *Feminist Economics* 3(1): 1–51.

________. 2015. "The Power of Numbers in Gender Dynamics: Illustrations from Community Forestry Groups." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42(1): 1–20.

Amnesty International. 2013. "Cambodia: Injustice Prevails despite Activist's Release on Bail." *Amnesty International*, November 22. http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/cambodia-release-yorm-bopha-just-first-step-against-injustice-2013-11-22.

Beban, Alice and Courtney Work. 2014. "The Spirits Are Crying: Dispossessing Land and Possessing Bodies in Rural Cambodia." *Antipode* 46(3): 593–610.

Behrman, Julia, Ruth Meinzen-Dick, and Agnes Quisumbing. 2012. "The Gender Implications of Large-Scale Land Deals." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 39(1): 49–79.

Borras Jr., Saturnino M. and Jennifer C. Franco. 2011. "Political Dynamics of Land-Grabbing in Southeast Asia: Understanding Europe's Role." Transnational Institute, Amsterdam.

________. 2013. "Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below.'" *Third World Quarterly* 34(9): 1723–47.

Brickell, Katherine. 2014. "'The Whole World Is Watching': Intimate Geopolitics of Forced Eviction and Women's Activism in Cambodia." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104(6): 1256–72.

Bugalski, Natalie. 2012. *A Human Rights Approach to Development of Cambodia's Land Sector: Discussion Paper*. Phnom Penh: Bridges Across Borders Cambodia/Equitable Cambodia and Heinrich Böll Stiftung Cambodia.

Cambodian Center for Human Rights (CCHR). 2013. "Cambodia: Land in Conflict: An Overview of the Land Situation." CCHR, Phnom Penh.

Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO). 2012. "Briefing Paper: Cambodia's Draft Law on the Management and Use of Agricultural Land: A LICADHO Briefing Paper." LICADHO, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

________. 2014. "Year 2013 in Review: Land, a Country in Crisis." http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/articles/20140321/142/index.html.

________. 2015. "Human Rights 2014: The Year in Review." LICADHO, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Chandler, David. 2007. *A History of Cambodia*. 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Chu, Jessica. 2011. "Gender and 'Land Grabbing' in Sub-Saharan Africa: Women's Land Rights and Customary Land Tenure." *Development* 54(1): 35–9.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Daley, Elizabeth. 2011. *Gendered Impacts of Commercial Pressures on Land*. Rome: International Land Coalition.

Daley, Elizabeth, Martha Osorio, and Clara Mi Young Park. 2013. *The Gender and Equity Implications of Land-Related Investments on Land Access and Labour and Income-Generating Opportunities: A Case Study of Selected Agricultural Investments in Lao PDR*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).

Daley, Elizabeth and Sabine Pallas. 2014. "Women and Land Deals in Africa and Asia: Weighing the Implications and Changing the Game." *Feminist Economics* 20(1): 178–201.

Daley, Elizabeth and Clara Mi Young Park. 2012. *The Gender and Equity Implications of Land-Related Investments on Land Access and Labour and Income-Generating Opportunities: A Case Study of Selected Agricultural Investments in Northern Tanzania*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).

Deere, Carmen Diana. 2003. "Women's Land Rights and Rural Social Movements in the Brazilian Agrarian Reform." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3(1/2): 257–88.

Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena León. 2001. *Empowering Women: Land and Property Rights in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Diepart, Jean-Christophe. 2016. *They Will Need Land! The Current Land Tenure Situation and Future Land Allocation Needs of Smallholder Farmers in Cambodia*. MRLG Thematic Study Series #1. Vientiane: Mekong Region Land Governance.

The Diplomat. 2012. "The Borei Keila Nightmare." *The Diplomat*, January 15. http://thediplomat.com/2012/01/the-borei-keila-nightmare/.

Doss, Cheryl, Gale Summerfield, and Dzodzi Tsikata. 2014. "Land, Gender, and Food Security." *Feminist Economics* 20(1): 1–23.

Dwyer, Michael B. 2015. "The Formalization Fix? Land Titling, Land Concessions, and the Politics of Spatial Transparency in Cambodia." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42(5): 903–28.

Evans, Kate. 2006. "Meet the New Urban Woman." *Phnom Penh Post*, February 24. http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/meet-new-urban-woman.

Equitable Cambodia and Inclusive Development International. 2013. *Bittersweet Harvest: A Human Rights Impact Assessment of the European Union's Everything but Arms Initiative in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Equitable Cambodia and Inclusive Development International.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). 2015. "FAOSTAT." http://faostat3.fao.org/home/E.

Frewer, Tim. 2017. "The Gender Agenda: NGOs and Capitalist Relations in Highland Cambodia." *Critical Asian Studies* 49(2): 163–86.

Grimsditch, Mark and Nick Henderson. 2009. *Untitled: Tenure Insecurity and Inequality in the Cambodian Land Sector*. Phnom Penh: Bridges Across Borders Southeast Asia, Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, Jesuit Refugee Service.

Grimsditch, Mark and Laura Schoenberger. 2015. *New Actions and Existing Policies: The Implementation and Impacts of Order 01*. Phnom Penh: The NGO Forum on Cambodia Land and Livelihoods Program.

Hall, Ruth, Marc Edelman, Saturnino M. Borras Jr., Ian Scoones, Ben White, and Wendy Wolford. 2015. "Resistance, Acquiescence or Incorporation? An Introduction to Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below.'" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42(3/4): 467–88.

Hart, Gillian. 1991. "Engendering Everyday Resistance: Gender, Patronage and Production Politics in Rural Malaysia." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 19(1): 93–121.

Harvey, David. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, Caroline. 2003. *The Political Economy of Cambodia's Transition, 1991–2001*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Human Rights Council. 2012. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Cambodia, Surya P. Subedi: Addendum: A Human Rights Analysis of Economic and Other Land Concessions in Cambodia." A/HRC/21/63/Add. 1, United Nations Human Rights Council.

Jacobsen, Trudy. 2008. *Lost Goddesses: The Denial of Female Power in Cambodian History*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) Press.

Julia and Ben White. 2012. "Gendered Experiences of Dispossession: Oil Palm Expansion in a Dayak Hibun Community in West Kalimantan." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 39(3/4): 995–1016.

Kabeer, Naila. 1999. "Resources, Agency, Achievement: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment." *Development and Change* 30(3): 435–64.

Kent, Alexandra. 2011. "Sheltered by *Dhamma*: Reflecting on Gender, Security and Religion in Cambodia." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 42(2): 193–209.

Kusakabe, Kyoko. 2015. "Gender Analysis of Economic Land Concessions in Cambodia and in Northern Laos: Case of Rubber Plantations." Paper presented at the International Academic Conference Land Grabbing, Conflict and Agrarian-Environmental Transformations: Perspectives from East and Southeast Asia, Chiang Mai University, June 5–6.

Lamb, Vanessa, Laura Schoenberger, Carl Middleton, and Borin Un. 2017. "Gendered Eviction, Protest and Recovery: A Feminist Political Ecology Engagement with Land Grabbing in Rural Cambodia." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(6): 1215–34.

L. H. 2012. "Justice in Cambodia: The Boeung Kak 13." *The Economist*, June 27. http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2012/06/justice-cambodia.

Li, Tania Murray. 2017. "Intergenerational Displacement in Indonesia's Oil Palm Plantation Zone." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(6): 1158–76.

Lilja, Mona. 2008. *Power, Resistance and Women Politicians in Cambodia: Discourses of Emancipation*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

________. 2012. "Traversing the 'Particular' through the 'Universal': The Politics of Negotiating Violent Masculinities in Cambodia." *Feminist Review* 101: 41–58.

Lim, Im Chuun. 2014. "Land is Life - About the Political Dimension of Land Policy and White Paper on Land Policy." Speech by Senior Minister of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction, delivered at the 6th International Summer School on Comprehensive Land Policy – Fundamental for Sustainable Urban and Rural Development, Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction, Phnom Penh, November 12–13.

McGinn, Colleen. 2015. "'These Days We Have to Be Poor People': Women's Narratives of the Economic Aftermath of Forces Evictions in Phnom Penh, Cambodia." Paper presented at the International Academic Conference on Land Grabbing, Conflict and Agrarian–Environmental Transformations: Perspectives from East and Southeast Asia, Chang Mai University, June 5–6.

Mehrvar, Mehrak, Chhay Kim Sore, and My Sambath. 2008. "Women's Perspectives: A Case Study of Systematic Land Registration: Cambodia." Gender and Development for Cambodia, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Cambodia, Phnom Penh.

Milne, Sarah. 2013. "Under the Leopard's Skin: Land Commodification and the Dilemmas of Indigenous Communal Title in Upland Cambodia." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 54(3): 323–39.

Ministry of Women's Affairs (MOWA). 2014. "Cambodia Gender Assessment (Draft)." MOWA, Phnom Penh.

Monsalve Suárez, Sofía. 2006. "Gender and Land." In *Promised Land: Competing Visions of Agrarian Reform*, edited by Peter Rosset, Raj Patel, and Michael Courville, 192–207. Oakland, CA: Food First Books.

Morgan, Miranda. 2017. "Women, Gender and Protest: Contesting Oil Palm Plantation Expansion in Indonesia." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(6): 1176–96.

National Institute of Statistics (NIS), Cambodia. 2014. "Census of Agriculture in Cambodia 2013: Preliminary Report." NIS, Phnom Penh.

Odom, Sek. 2014. "Borei Keila Families Mark Anniversary Of Eviction." *Cambodia Daily*, January 4. http://www.cambodiadaily.com/archives/borei-keila-families-mark-anniversary-of-eviction-50070/.

O'Laughlin, Bridget. 2009. "Gender Justice, Land and the Agrarian Question in Southern Africa." In *Peasants and Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question*, edited by A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi and Cristóbal Kay, 190–213. New York: Routledge.

Oldenburg, Christoph and Andreas Neef. 2014. "Reversing Land Grabs or Aggravating Tenure Insecurity? Competing Perspectives on Economic Land Concessions and Land Titling in Cambodia." *Law and Development Review* 7(1): 49–77.

Park, Clara Mi Young and Margherita Maffii. 2017. "'We Are Not Afraid to Die': Gender Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(6): 1235–54.

Park, Clara Mi Young and Ben White. 2017. "Gender and Generation in Southeast Asian Agro-Commodity Booms." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(6): 1103–10.

Peluso, Nancy Lee and Christian Lund. 2011. "New Frontiers of Land Control: Introduction." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38(4): 667–81.

Resurrección, Bernadette P. 2006. "Gender, Identity and Agency in Philippine Upland Development." *Development and Change* 37(2): 375–400.

Rocheleau, Dianne. 2015. "A Situated View of Feminist Political Ecology from My Networks, Roots and Territories." In *Practising Feminist Political Ecologies: Moving Beyond the 'Green Economy,'* edited by Wendy Harcourt and Ingrid L. Nelson, 29–66. London: Zed Books.

Royal Government of Cambodia. 2013. "'Rectangular Strategy' for Growth, Employment, Equity and Efficiency: Phase III of the Royal Government of Cambodia of the Fifth Legislature of the National Assembly." Royal Government of Cambodia, Phnom Penh.

Rubin, Jeffrey W. and Emma Sokoloff-Rubin. 2013. *Sustaining Activism: A Brazilian Women's Movement and a Father–Daughter Collaboration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Rutten, Rosanne. 2000. "High-Cost Activism and the Worker Household: Interests, Commitment, and the Costs of Revolutionary Activism in a Philippine Plantation Region." *Theory and Society* 29(2): 215–52.

Saing, Chan Hang, Sochet Hem, and Chandarany Ouch with Dalis Phann and Dorina Pon. 2012. *Foreign Investment in Agriculture in Cambodia*. CDRI Working Paper No. 60. Phnom Penh: CDRI and FAO.

Schoenberger, Laura. 2015. "Winning Back Land in Cambodia: Community Work to Navigate State Land Titling Campaigns and Large Land Deals." Paper presented at the International Academic Conference Land Grabbing, Conflict and Agrarian-Environmental Transformations: Perspectives from East and Southeast Asia, Chiang Mai University, June 5–6.

Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

________. 1986. "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13(2): 5–35.

________. 1998. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

________. 2012. *Two Cheers for Anarchism: Six Easy Pieces on Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Scott, Joan. 1988. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sedara, Kim and Joakim Öjendal with Chhoun Nareth. 2014. "Gatekeepers in Local Politics: Political Parties in Cambodia and Their Gender Policy." Working Paper Series No. 87, CDRI, Phnom Penh.

Sovanna, Sar. 2014. "Outlook on the Implementation of the White Paper on Land Policy." Speech by Secretary of State and Chairman of Technical Working Group on Land Reform, 6th International Summer School on Comprehensive Land Policy – Fundamental for Sustainable Urban and Rural Development, Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction, Phnom Penh, November 12–13.

Springer, Simon. 2010. *Cambodia's Neoliberal Order: Violence, Authoritarianism, and the Contestation of Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

________. 2011. "Articulated Neoliberalism: The Specificity of Patronage, Kleptocracy, and Violence in Cambodia's Neoliberalization." *Environment and Planning A* 43(11): 2554–70.

Stephen, Lynn. 1997. *Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power from Below*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

United Nations Development Programme. n.d. "Table 5: Gender Inequality Index." Accessed June 2018. http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII.

USAID. 2010. "USAID/Cambodia Gender Assessment." USAID, Phnom Penh.

Valle, Martha Heriberta. 2009. "Women Cooperative Members in Nicaragua: The Struggle for Autonomy." In *Rural Social Movements in Latina America: Organizing for*

Sustainable Livelihoods, edited by Carmen Diana Deere and Frederick S. Royce, 221–8. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Viola, Lynne. 1986. "Bab'i Bunty and Peasant Women's Protest during Collectivization." *Russian Review* 45(1): 23–42.

White, Ben, Saturnino M. Borras Jr., Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, and Wendy Wolford. 2012. "The New Enclosures: Critical Perspectives on Corporate Land Deals." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 39(3/4): 619–47.

Wichterich, Christa. 2015. "Contesting Green Growth, Connecting Care, Commons and Enough." In *Practising Feminist Political Ecologies: Moving Beyond the 'Green Economy,'* edited by Wendy Harcourt and Ingrid L. Nelson, 67–100. London: Zed Books.

Work, Courtney and Alice Beban. 2016. "Mapping the *Srok*: The Mimeses of Land Titling in Cambodia." *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 31(1): 37–80.

World Bank. n.d. "Data: Cambodia." Accessed December 2014. http://data.worldbank.org/country/cambodia#cp_gep.

Yniesta, Luc. 2014a. "Global Land Indicators and Cambodian Administrative Data." Paper presented at the 6th International Summer School on Comprehensive Land Policy, Ministry of Land Management Urban Planning and Construction (MLMUPC), Phnom Penh, November 12–13.

________. 2014b. "Global Land Indicators: Cambodia Deliverable 2 (Draft)." Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Phnom Penh.